

NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER.  
FROM OUR LONDON CORRESPONDENT.

LONDON, AUGUST 31, 1854.  
London appears to be more than usually depopulated, even at this season of the year. The "Roving Englishman" has started on his annual tour. Neither Regent street nor Belgrave know of his whereabouts: his friends at the club or the coffee-house cannot form an idea where he may "turn up." Capel Court is comparatively silent and the Royal Exchange is deserted. Some of the wanderers, with a long purse and a long vacation, are wending their way to Niagara or the Prairies of the West, or to Mont Blanc or the Himalayas, or the Mountains of the Moon in the East. Wherever civilized man has trod, and in some places where civilization is yet a stranger, the wandering Englishman now be found. Even the avowed cockney now puts his Murray in his pocket and a few necessities into a carpet-bag and starts on a "continental tour." The impulse for adventure, which seldom allows the Anglo-Saxon blood to stagnate, has caused thousands of Englishmen "abroad to roam," with the feelings of so many Child Harolds, and the same spirit of romance as actuated their ancestors a thousand years ago. Of course there is no such scope for the energies of the traveller as existed before the world was mapped out as it is at present. The Anglo-Saxon race has laid its hands on the greater and best part of an entire continent in the West. John Bull has appropriated the lion's share of the riches of the East; he has found out a new continent, Australia, and has taken possession of it and its gold; in short, he has a home in almost every land, and at this time is to be found in almost every place except his native home and his accustomed domicile. Let us strive to catch a few glimpses of the "Roving Englishman" a little nearer home. Ramsgate and Margate, and Dover and Hastings, and Cromer and Scarborough have their hotels crowded with visitors and their beaches lined with bathers. The mountains of Wales are no longer "a mountain solitude," and the lakes of Cumberland have no "lack of company." Englishmen are in full feather in Scotland, and the moors were never more attractive. The fash of Dr. ISRAELI'S fowling-piece is more successful than the fash of his wit; Lord DEXTER triumphs more in the field than the Senate; and Lord JOHN RUSSELL seeks the reviving breezes of the north, to fan a cheek pallid with the pains and penalties of office and furored with the fatigues of business.

Who will say this is not the age of progress? Even "grim-visaged war" seems to have "smoothed its wrinkled front," and to have become, in some degree, softened by the amenities of life, the facilities of intercourse, and a more correct appreciation by one nation of another's worth. War is now conducted upon the principle that it is better to sacrifice time and material than human life; and that the value of a victory is not to be measured by the amount of what the Duke of WELLINGTON called "the butcher's bill." Mr. GLADSTONE has also introduced the business-like mode of conducting the war so that each year shall pay its own expenses. Too great importance cannot be attached to the admirable principle of raising within the year the expenditure of the year. It is evident, if recourse had been had to loans in the first year, that mischievous consequences would have arisen, impeding future operations. The abstraction of capital from trade and other purposes would have been a great hindrance to business, weakening its resources and diminishing its profits. The money being abstracted and spent, the resource would have been lost, and could only have been recovered by repeated abstractions, seriously weakening the money market and the tone and character of business by every successive operation. In the place of loans, to be repaid for each successive expenditure, the House of Commons gave a hearty support to Mr. GLADSTONE'S proposal for increased taxes. The state of the war expenditure and of the resources to meet it, are, in round numbers, as follows:

Additional property tax and malt and spirit duty.....	£10,000,000
Old expenditure army, navy, and ordnance.....	18,500,000
Permanent peace surplus, now and during war, expended.....	1,500,000
	£30,000,000

This £30,000,000 may now be considered as the resources provided to meet the war; being the ordinary votes during peace, and the peace surplus now to be expended £20,000,000, and additional taxes imposed expressly as war taxes £10,000,000. Further to provide the means in the interim, whilst these resources are realizing, Ministers have £5,000,000 of Exchequer bills voted them by Parliament, as a ready money supply for present purposes, to be repaid out of the proceeds of the year. Thus, instead of draining the country of money, and permanently injuring the commerce of the country, and creating a debt, to be paid, with its annual interest, by posterity, the people of the present day have been taxed about 7s. each per annum whilst the war lasts, in order to be free from all additional debt or taxation at its close. The younger Pitt, with all his talent for raising money, never achieved so judicious a measure. With a war conducted financially upon this principle, peace, when it comes, brings all the blessings of peace. In place of an exhausted country, increased debt, and increased taxation to pay the interest, the country will be instantly relieved when peace is secured by the repeal of the £10,000,000 annual taxes which paid for the war. We believe that Mr. GLADSTONE'S system of finance will achieve this triumph.

So far as respects politics we think the plot is thickening. The great scheme of European policy which was framed so complacently by the conquerors in the last great war is melting away in the first heat of a new conflict. No reflecting person can, we think, be surprised at the complications which arise as the war proceeds. There are probably a number of persons, and those among the best of their respective nations, who are entirely disinterested as to the distribution of power and of territory, and who contemplate the struggle with such emotions only as arise from sympathy with the right and faith in the progressive improvement of mankind. These men probably decide that some great questions should be settled at once, considering they would only be injured by delay. The Daily News says:

"We, the people of Great Britain, being so blessed as to be in cordial union with our Sovereign and in possession of representative institutions, are in the true position for contemplating the movements abroad and forecasting the future. Living in peace and satisfaction at home, having no restless territorial ambition to gratify, and our noble duty and privilege being to aid the right without other gain than that which the whole world will share—security from retrogression—we can calmly and impartially survey the great field of political action where preparations are going on for the central questions which will follow the opening of the Eastern conflict."

Let us take a brief survey of Europe, and endeavor to note the symptoms which are said to be every where visible of an approaching conflict. First, there is Denmark. To-morrow, 1st September, the King is to measure his strength against his people. To-morrow the National Council, as he calls it, seeing that it is composed of his own nominees, is to meet. The people of Denmark consider themselves yet in possession of a constitution, and have called upon the designated members of the new Council to refuse to take their seats in it, on the ground of its illegality. The trial of strength is at hand. Two regiments of cavalry are to surround the Danish capital on the 1st of September, indicating that the fears of the King are not caused by any contingencies which may arise out of the war in the Baltic, but rather by the fear of a domestic war in Copenhagen. He is cutting down the avenues on the ramparts and destroying the only beautiful feature in the homely city. Events of importance are most certainly about to happen there—events of perhaps equal importance, whether the people submit or resist. So much for Denmark; the day of her trial is at hand. Norway is quiet, and with reason, for her people, both in theory and practice, are probably the freest people in Europe. Yet the capture of Bornholm is causing a good deal of excitement among them. The Norwegians have always exercised great vigilance against

any encroachments by their partners, the Swedes, whose institutions are more of a feudal than a representative character. Finland will, we think, be regarded from Russia, and on the destiny of that country depends probably the continued union of Sweden and Norway under one crown. We think history shows that Norway and Denmark worked better together than Norway and Sweden. Any great political change in Denmark will materially affect all the Scandinavian nations. As respects the war between the Western Powers and Russia, we think Sweden is determined to preserve a strict neutrality. It is probably a wise determination, if practicable. Next we come to that problem of the political world, Prussia. It has been known for some time that the Prussian ports were being fortified at a rapid rate, though very quietly. It is now understood that a breach is imminent between Austria and Prussia. There is some talk about the occupation of the Principalities. Those who confide in the sincerity of Austria anticipate a speedy alliance, offensive and defensive, of that Government with the Western Powers, a consistent declaration of friendship with Russia, and an alienation from all the other German States. We think, however, that Austria is involved in such incompatible relations that it would be indiscreet in any Power to rely upon her to any extent. It is no wonder that she cannot get on with Prussia. The plain question is whether the ruler and the people of Prussia really resemble the Russian will, even now, declare sincere war against Russia, with the certainty of thereby throwing all the small German States into the scale of their rival, Prussia, and for the sake of an alliance with Powers one of whom, at any rate, will certainly never oppose the restoration of Poland and Austria, and the giving up of Italy to the Italians. We do not think it is for the real interests of England and France during the present struggle to have any German alliances whatever, and we earnestly hope that Austria and Prussia, and such other German Powers as chose to be parties in the business, will go on arguing and fighting, and negotiating, and so on, whilst England, France, and Turkey do all the fighting.

France has her eye upon continental Europe. She has pitched two large camps at no very great distance from the Rhine, and has bought supplies at Danzig for her Baltic troops for the whole campaign of 1855. Spain has been at home. The Queen Christina, the daughter-in-law of the European plot as likely to create a diversion in his favor.

England need only dread such continental changes as interfere with her commercial policy. She has every thing to hope and enjoy from each extension of political freedom among the nations of the earth. She can watch the growth of the embarrassments of despotic dynasties with calmness, exalted by the conviction that right will ultimately prevail, and the resolution that right shall prevail by having a fair field for its conflict with wrong.

The war progresses slowly. In a few days we may hear that the Anglo-French alliance has been confirmed, and by a decisive victory of the combined armies. The affair at Bomarsund, although decisive enough, scarcely deserves the appellation of a battle. We hope to hear of an affair upon a larger scale in the Crimea.

Despatches from the Baltic state that the cholera has broken out among the French troops at Danzig, and that it is also in the air in consequence of the negotiations with the Swedes having failed through their resolving to maintain a strict neutrality, the fortifications of the Aland archipelago will be destroyed, and that Bomarsund will be abandoned.

We believe that it is well known the Austrian occupation of the Principalities is not intended to exclude the Turkish or allied troops from them, but is to be a joint occupation by all the four Powers. The Monitor states that more than 70,000 Turkish soldiers have now passed over to the left bank of the Danube. The fire at Varna was a very dreadful one. The powder magazines of the Allies were saved by the report that the fire was caused by the Greeks is contradicted. The point in the Crimea where the allied forces will attempt a landing is said to be Eupatoria, a few miles northeast of Sebastopol. The cholera is generally on the decline in the army; the best is almost entirely absent from the land forces. There has been a succession of most glorious harvest weather during the week, and field operations have been pushed with marvellous celerity. So great is the calculation respecting the crop now harvesting that wheat has fallen 8s. perhaps 10s. It is feared that the greater part of the potato crop is a failure. The French corn market is also lower, the decline being fully equal to that in England.

This is the dull season for literature. We hear of nothing but the magazines and a few new novels. The same may be said of theatricals. We find in the Quarterly Review a statement that in the year 1853 no fewer than 206 dramas were licensed for representation, and very few exceptions, produced at various metropolitan or provincial theatres. Of these the greater part were one, two, or at the most three act pieces. There are twenty-five theatres and saloons for dramatic representations open in London from October to August inclusive, who employ together at least 3,000 persons, and their premises, without including the number engaged at their own houses or work rooms in the various arts of decoration and costume which the stage requires. The audiences nightly resorting to these twenty-five houses amount to about 5,000 on the average, without reckoning the extraordinary resort to them at the seasons of the Christmas and Easter, and during the first run of a successful novelty.

Spain appears to be more settled. There now seems to be a call from the Progressist party for the establishment of a federative republic, with ESPARTELO at the head.

Terms which Gen. BARAGATY D'HERLIERES offered on the part of England and France to Sweden, if she would join the alliance against Russia, are said to have been fourteen millions of francs for the first month and seven for each succeeding one, as a subsidy to be paid for the active services of that country.

SEPTEMBER 1.—There is not any domestic news of importance this morning. The advertisements in Spain are interesting and of great significance as respects that country. Queen CHRISTINA appears to have been the great stumbling-block in the present position of Spain. Her great unpopularity, the determination of the leaders of the revolution that she should be brought to trial, ESPARTELO'S solemn promise that she should not be allowed to escape "either forcibly or voluntarily, by day or by night," and the general apprehension that the Queen's refusal to sanction criminal proceedings against her mother would bring on a crisis, seemed to furnish a complication that could not be happily unravelled. The news, therefore, of the death of the Queen mother for Italy, is regarded at Paris as a great indication of the waywardness of the general opinion now is that the Government will be materially strengthened by the circumstance. There never was any intention to condemn Queen Christina to any personal penalty; the trial before the Cortes was only intended to make her surrender the property which she had acquired, and to prevent her from any further political mischief by depriving her of her wealth. All this may be attained by a trial in her absence, and a sequestration of her property during that trial, and waiting its determination. With this view her person has been suspended and her property sequestrated until the Cortes shall determine how it shall be disposed of. The death of the Queen mother, however, has put an end to the ultimatum, in consequence of the departure of Queen Christina, which were promptly put down by the national guard, and perfect tranquillity existed on the 30th. The Union Club, of which ESPARTELO was President, was closed by the Government on the 28th.

The news from Copenhagen of the 30th is very threatening. It has been stated by the "Constitutional Association" expressing distrust in Ministers, and advising the refusal to pay taxes until the causes of distrust were removed. The association consists of men of all ranks. The Royal Constitution has been declared illegal, null, and void. All discussion of there is a studied avoidance of any mention of the King.

London Stock Exchange, 3 o'clock.—Consols 95 to 95½.

FROM OUR PARIS CORRESPONDENT.

PARIS, SEPTEMBER 4, 1854.

The news from Paris will constitute the most interesting European intelligence taken out by the steamer of the 6th. I am glad to state that the apprehensions so generally felt, and in which your correspondent has of late shared, lest the ultra Democratic party should skillfully take advantage of the supposed dissensions in the Cabinet and make their cause prevalent in Spain, are in a great measure dispelled. For the present, at least, the party of disorder and revolution in the capital is compelled to succumb. The Government has shown a little energy; and the intelligent friends of liberty and progress in Spain have now some reasonable hope that the trying interval which must elapse before the meeting of the Constituent Cortes will pass without serious disturbance of the public tranquillity. One grand difficulty of Spanish politics has been removed. The Queen Mother, MARIA CHRISTINA, has left Madrid by permission and under the protection of the Ministers. She has probably, ere this, safely passed the frontiers into Portugal. It is asserted that the Spanish Cabinet took this step at the special instance of the Emperor Na-

poleon, who evinced his interest in the matter by an autograph letter communicated to the Ministry. This is not improbable, for both the Emperor and the Empress are known to have felt a strong interest in the fate of the ex-Queen; and, since Isabella and her late Ministry have been prevented, by the success of the insurrection in July, from overruling the Constitution, *à la Napoleon*, and establishing a despotism in Spain, French influence at the Court of Madrid is known to have preferred the maintenance of the constitutional throne of Isabella II, hedged around by largely liberal reforms and attended by an honest and economical administration, to any of the alternatives which the various parties were ready to offer, namely: A regency with the Princess of the Asturias and ESPARTELO; a substitution of the Queen's sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, for Isabella II; a union with Portugal under Don Pedro; or a return to legitimacy under the Count Montemolin; or, finally, the Democratic Republic under Mr. SOUZA'S protégé, citizen Orensé, (ex-Marquis of Albaida). A letter published in the *Moniteur* of Paris, dated Madrid, August 28, says that the Queen Mother left Madrid on the morning of that day for Portugal, accompanied by her husband, the Duke of Bauxarros, (her present husband). She was escorted by a squadron of lancers, under the command of Gen. Garriga. This is the same officer who five or six weeks ago, just after the breaking out of this revolution, was tried by a court-martial for his own participation in it, and, being sentenced to death, was pardoned by the Queen. In grateful recollection of this act of royal clemency, Gen. Garriga is said to have solicited the command of the troops appointed to conduct the mother of the Queen in safety to the frontiers. The letter in the *Moniteur* adds:

"A regiment of cavalry was sent yesterday on the road of Estramadura to protect her passage, and the cavalry of the garrison at Badajoz, on the Portuguese frontier, has been ordered to go out upon the road to Madrid to meet the ex-Queen and escort her through the frontier. The Queen Mother will thus be officially escorted throughout her whole journey, which will be made very leisurely, so that she may reach the frontier at the end of about a week from her departure from Madrid."

The Government, however, was compelled to accompany this decisive measure, the dismissal of the Queen, by the announcement of others taken against her, and intended to conciliate and pacify the people and the clubs who were exasperated against the Queen Mother, and who two or three weeks ago had extorted from ESPARTELO the formal promise that the "Queen Christina shall not leave Madrid, neither by day nor by night, nor secretly, until the meeting of the Cortes." Yet Christina has left Madrid, and the Cortes will not assemble until the 8th November. We shall see presently how the punctiliously honest and scrupulous ESPARTELO has twisted the spirit and letter of this promise in order to justify the departure of the 28th, which took place under his own auspices. The conciliatory measures alluded to were announced in the official journal, the *Gazette*, on the morning of the 28th, in a circular signed by all the Ministers and addressed to the Governors of the Provinces. The circular notifies the country of the departure of the ex-Queen, and at the same time of the suspension of her pension of three millions real (about \$200,000) and the sequestration of her property until the Cortes should assemble and decide definitively with regard to it. But these measures did not satisfy the ultra-revolutionists, the Democratic leaders. Their prey had escaped. They knew that in the person of the odious ex-Queen they retained a powerful means of revolutionary action. The disposal of that person could not but give rise before the public, in the Cabinet, and in the Cortes to angry discussions, which would hardly fail to give to their cause increased chances of success. She had been snatched from their grasp. It was no sooner known, therefore, that she had really left the city under Governmental protection than an ominous agitation was observed in all the popular quarters of the capital. During the whole morning numerous groups were observed reading the official circular, and then moving sullenly away. The Democratic leaders, professors of inaccuracy, were noticed mingling among the groups, acting evidently in concert and with the air of men who were meditating the play of their last card. Presently it was rumored that the people were arming; that the barricades were rising again in the district quarters. At four o'clock in the afternoon the royal guard was beating all over Madrid, calling the National Guard to arms. The streets soon became swarmed with the members of the National Guard (citizen militia) hastening to the rendezvous, and groups of the lower orders, armed, and ready to take their places behind the barricades. The aged and popular liberal Gen. San Miguel, hastening in discharge of his official duty to the Puerto del Sol, was stopped in a dense mass of the agitated people. He was surrounded and angrily questioned by the leaders upon the subject of the ex-Queen's departure. Vehement and abusive protestations were addressed to him. He excused himself as well as he could by throwing upon the Ministers, who in council had resolved upon the measure, all the responsibility involved in it. "Down with ESPARTELO!" "Down with San Miguel!" "Down with O'Donnell!" was now the cry. "We are betrayed! To the barricades! To the barricades!" The shops were now shut up all over the city; doors and windows closed in instant expectation of the re-commencement of civil war. The soldiers of the line suddenly disappeared from the streets; not one of them was to be seen. They had all, by order of Government, retired to their barracks. ESPARTELO and O'Donnell preferred, in this fearful crisis, wasting the cause of order and of society to the citizens, who had family and property at stake, rather than to profess soldiers, who, the great mass of them, had not those powerful motives for the defence of Government against anarchy. Besides, the appearance of the regular soldiers, even if they were sure to remain firmly on the side of Government, would, it was thought, exasperate the popular masses, and render reconciliation more difficult. At this juncture a deputation, composed of six leading members of the famous *Union Club*, of which ESPARTELO himself had recently accepted the honorary Presidency, but of which the would-be Spanish Mirabeau, citizen Orensé, (Marquis of Albaida), was acting President, called on ESPARTELO at the Ministerial residence, to inform him of the deplorable effect upon the popular mind produced by the departure of Dona Maria Christina, and of the eminently precarious situation of the capital. The Duke of Vitoria received his colleagues of the *Union Club*, and replied firmly, not allowing himself to be intimidated, "that, faithful now as ever to his colors, 'of which the motto was, 'Let the will of the nation be done,' he desired that all the popular corps of Madrid—'that is to say, the Constitutive Junta, the Provincial Deputation, the Ayuntamiento, and the National Guard—'should immediately, by their delegates, appear before the Council of Ministers, which he would instantly assemble; and that they should make known to the Government what were the real sentiments and wishes of the people." The Council of Ministers met, and promptly, in compliance with the Duke's invitation, the hall was filled with the deputies of the several political bodies above mentioned. The Civil Governor of Madrid, the President of the Tribunal of War and of the Navy, several Generals, and other important personages were present. An animated discussion then took place, in which eight or ten of the principal persons shared. Gen. ESPARTELO announced "that the measure objected to had been resolved upon by a unanimous vote of the Council of Ministers; that he had all thought the measure useful and necessary; and, moreover, that, reckless of the responsibility which they knew they were incurring, 'they had, at the same time that they indicted upon 'Dona Maria Christina the pain of banishment, pronounced also the sequestration of her property.' Citizen Orensé, Acting President of the *Union Club*, was present, at the head of numerous delegates. This is the same person whom I had in my letter of 24th July (see *Intelligencer* of 8th Aug.) as having been arrested by the French authorities on the frontier, when, furnished with an American passport by Mr. SOUZE, he was seeking to re-enter Spain on foot in the new insurrection which had broken out. He is said to be an able man of action, and destined to play a conspicuous part among the revolutionary Democrats of Spain. Upon the occasion of this popular meeting, in the afternoon of the 28th August, the citizen-farjants took the floor and expressed in very warm and even offensive terms his dis-

approbation of the measure. Gen. O'DONNELL replied to him, and with equal animation. "When the name of liberty is evoked by men," said he, "addressing Mr. Orensé, 'they should remember that liberty consists not alone in the respect of the laws by the governors, but also in the respect of liberty itself by the governed.' In fine, the meeting broke up with a pledge on the part of the National Guards and the corporations to support Government and maintain order at all hazards. Before its close a *bando* was drawn up and signed by ESPARTELO, in the name of the Council of Ministers over which he presided. It was addressed to the National Guard and to the people. It was immediately printed and distributed in hand-bill form all over the city, to the following effect:

"The Government has considered the banishment of Queen Christina a necessity required by the public security. The Government in its conscience believes that the measures taken will be found to respond to the judgment to be rendered by the Cortes upon this subject. National Guards and People of Madrid! with your hand upon the heart, consider in what manner the Government received this question from the revolution of July. The friend of liberty, and, above all, the friend of the people, the Government has faithfully kept the promise which it gave to the Junta of Madrid, viz: That the Queen Christina should not leave secretly, neither by day nor by night. By this proceeding it has been the desire of Government, upon its own responsibility, to avoid transmitting to the Cortes a legacy big with evil influence upon the destinies of the country."

The *bando* closes with an earnest appeal to the Spanish people to distrust those enemies of the country who are striving to sow discord among the members of the great Liberal party, and equally vehement assurances of the Ministers' devotion to true liberty. Its cause, they say, can surely be in no danger from a Government which has at its head "the Victor of Luchana and the valiant General who unfurled at Vicalvaro the standard of morality, dignity, and independence."

The *bando* did not produce the effect upon the people which the Government and orderly citizens hoped. The Democrats, feeling that the moment was now come for them to act, or, probably to lose finally all chance of profiting by this revolution for the establishment of the republic, circulated freely among the people and sought to exasperate and urge them to avert insurrection. "ESPARTELO is deceived!" was the cry: "Down with the Government!" And the work of rebuilding the barricades was resumed, in presence of the National Guard, which stood patiently by and saw them rising at their very feet and across every street. The *Union Club* declared itself permanent, and its hall became the scene of indescribable confusion. Its members were hopelessly divided in opinion as to the precise direction which it behooved them now to impress upon the revolution. "A *bando* le Gouvernement, vive ESPARTELO!" cried one party; "Down with ESPARTELO!" shouted another; "Vive la République!" cried a Frenchman, a man of June, 1848, an itinerant professor of barricades and democracy; "Let us proclaim the Republic!" "Who is that calling for the Republic?" replied one whose brain was not quite totally confused by the din and anarchy of the scene; "and where are your republicans to make the republic possible?" In the mean time the men outside the men of the barricades, without leaders, without definite purpose themselves, were waiting from the Club guidance and the announcement of some plan of action. None came from Union Club, the focus to which all eyes were turned. Its members were spending the night in furious and impotent ravings. About two o'clock in the morning the National Guard, which had been all night at its post, in all the threatening quarters of the city, but inactive, waiting for the attack to come from the men of the Club, seeing that the barricades were entirely finished and that their builders were quietly smoking their cigars, reposing after their labors, waiting for the Marquis to tell them what it was they wanted and to begin to fire—the National Guard, I say, at this stage of the proceedings, about two o'clock in the morning, commenced some offensive action.

It was at the crossings of the street Montera that the most formidable barricades had been erected. At the palace of the Fountain, where five streets meet, five columns of the National Guard were seen coming up each street. Flight was impossible, fight was useless; besides the poor fellows did not know who or what to fight for. The National Guard came up, took every man of them prisoners, without a blow being struck. Similar operations were performed at the other barricades all over the city wherever they had been raised. The barricades were instantly pulled to pieces; and so ended the night which had commenced so ominously. By nine A. M. on the 29th it was all over, and the National Guard went home to get breakfast and open their shops. By ten A. M. Don SAGASTI, the efficient civil Governor of Madrid, had begun paviors at work replacing the stones which had been so unnecessarily disturbed by the barricadeers. A great many arrests were made, among them the redoubtable citizen Orensé, who, if he had been able, at the critical moment, to master the unruly spirits of his club and impose his own singleness and distinctness of purpose, might have conducted events to a result at which the friends of liberty and Spain would have less reason to congratulate themselves.

On the 29th two new *bandos* were published by Government, one signed by the Ministers, thanking the National Guard for their resolute conduct and moderation in face of the crisis, and the other, signed by the civil Governor SAGASTI, forbidding all citizens not belonging to the National Guard to appear armed in the streets upon pain of arrest and judgment by the tribunals. This is a salutary and bold measure, and shows that the scales have turned and that the Government has become master of the situation; a Government, in one word, worthy of the name. It is to be regretted, however, that the Generals ESPARTELO and O'DONNELL, thinking themselves strong enough to violate their pledge and send the Queen Mother out of Spain, had not also felt strong enough to do so without egregiously violating law and constitution, without committing the despotism of suspending the ex-Queen's pension and placing all her property under sequestration, without obtaining the consent of Queen ISABELLA, by an act under their own sole signature. They profess to be constitutional and law-abiding. They have established a dangerous precedent, which they need not be surprised in these revolutionary times to see disastrously used against themselves. Just preceding the departure of MARIA CHRISTINA, and subsequently, other decrees have been passed in relation to the press, the jutos, and clubs, which afford additional ground of confidence that Spain will not be called to pass through any more dangerous revolutionary crisis till the constituent Cortes shall meet and shake the country by its discussions.

I see hints in some of the papers that our Minister at Madrid, Mr. SOUZE, has been conducting himself in a manner quite inconsistent with his diplomatic character as resident representative of a friendly foreign Power; but, have seen no specifications against him. I trust, therefore, that the charges insinuated against him will prove to be unfounded.

Let me say, however, before dismissing Mr. SOUZE, that I have been informed, upon authority that leaves no room whatever for doubt, that letters from Mr. SOUZE have been very recently received in Paris to the effect that, by reason of the aggravated character of our own difficulties with Spain, his position at the Court of Isabella has become quite untenable, and that we may expect very shortly to be apprised of his having taken his passports and withdrawn from Spain.

I see it announced that Baron VON GERMER is about to return to Washington with a higher diplomatic grade than that which he has hitherto possessed, and that with his grade the number of attachés to his Legation and his salary will also be increased.

Emperor NAPOLÉON has again left Paris and is now at the camp of Boulogne, engaged in reviewing the magnificent body of troops of all arms that he has assembled there, and in giving an Imperial reception to two royal and one princely visitor who are honoring him with their visits. King LEOPOLD, of Belgium, and Prince ALBERT, of England, are already there, and Don PEDRO, of Portugal, is expected. The Belgian papers which have arrived to-day announce that the Emperor of the French will very soon return the visit of Leopold by showing himself for a few hours in one of the frontier Belgian towns. This reciprocity of courtesy is especially due to Leopold in consideration of the slavery which certain

French refugees who have shown a disposition to be troublesome have been persecuted, persecuted, and finally driven from the Belgian territory.

Lieut. BARTLEY, of the U. S. Navy, who has been resident in Paris for several years past, superintending the construction of several light-houses intended for the American Atlantic and Pacific coasts, will sail for home by the steamer from Liverpool that will carry this letter. I met the Lieutenant day before yesterday at the American Legation, where he went for his passport. The American orders, he says, are not yet entirely filled here, but the works are satisfactorily progressing to speedy conclusion, and have now reached a point at which his own superintendence has become no longer necessary.

Despatches arrived this day from Vienna state that the answer of the Czar to the four conditions of peace proposed by the Allies and submitted to him by Austria has come to hand. It is positively negative. The Czar will allow the war to progress, confident that its events will be long render the Allies willing to accept a peace upon terms less humiliating to him than those of which there has just been question.

The expedition has not yet, so far as we are apprised, sailed from Varna for the Crimea, but we are again assured that it will sail soon.

THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS IN EUROPE.

As the diplomatic correspondence between the various European Powers offers the only authentic record of the progress of the efforts made for the restoration of peace, we continue the publication of the successive notes as they reach us. The following is the answer of the Russian Government to the Prussian note in support of the Austrian summons for the evacuation of the Principalities:

ST. PETERSBURG, JUNE 18, (30) 1854.

The Prussian Chargé d'Affaires has handed me the communication which his Cabinet addressed to us, under date of the 14th inst., in which he declares that Austria towards us, for the purpose of prevailing upon us to accelerate the conclusion of the present war by refraining from extending our military operations in Turkey, and at the same time withdrawing our troops from the Principalities as speedily as possible.

We are not aware, Baron, how can answer this communication of the Prussian Cabinet better than by bringing to its knowledge the text of the answer we have addressed to Vienna, here appended. From this it will be apparent that, without sharing the opinions with reference to the occupation of the Principalities as put forward by Austria, and particularly by Prussia, we nevertheless, out of consideration for the special interests of Austria and Germany on the Danube, and the peculiar nature of the obligations which the Courts of Vienna and Berlin have entered into with the Western Powers in the protocol of April 4, are prepared, at the same time reserving to ourselves the right to make such remarks as we may see fit to make in advance, to withdraw from the Principalities, and to enter into negotiations for peace on the basis of the three main principles laid down in that Protocol, or at least to pave the way for this negotiation by agreeing to a truce.

Without repeating on this occasion the very great considerations which lead us to abide by our requirement previously to be put in possession of securities in exchange for the voluntary sacrifice which we made to the interests of Austria and Germany, in relinquishing our present or future military position in Turkey, we cannot ourselves, in considering these remarks to the mature deliberation of the Prussian Court, convinced that his Majesty the King is too just to demand of us that we should consent gratuitously to weaken ourselves morally and materially, without being certain of obtaining a peace which will be to us, moreover, with satisfaction that we observe that the Prussian Cabinet is content with the correctness of this view, since, whilst expressing the wish that hostilities should be curtailed and circumscribed, it recognises in advance that this ought to take place on both sides. In pursuance of the pacific intentions expressed in our answer, it is now put to the Prussian Cabinet to use its interest at Vienna and elsewhere to procure for us the securities so indispensably necessary. We feel that we are so much the more entitled to hope this from that quarter, as it was to it (the Prussian Cabinet) that the Emperor first communicated his intention to consider the firm establishment of the religious and civil rights of the Christians in Turkey, if they can be obtained from the Porte in a form of working efficiency, as an actual satisfaction of the demands we have made on it, (the Porte); and that, by the accession to this principle of the protocol, as well as our satisfaction in the two others, which will be seen by our voluntary withdrawal from the Principalities, we henceforth offer Prussia, as well as Austria, a means of fulfilling the obligations which that document that have entered into *vis-à-vis* the Western Powers.

You will, Baron, express our hope to Baron VON MEXXER in the most distinct manner, at the same time that you bring this dispatch to his knowledge. Accept the assurances, &c. NESSELEDOE.

After the receipt of the note corresponding to this, received by Austria, Count BRUNO, addressed a circular containing instructions to the Austrian Ambassadors in London and Paris, which is also among the documents laid before the Bund. The following is a translation of this circular:

To M. le Baron de Hulmer, at Paris, and M. le Comte Colloredo, at London.

VIENNA, (FRIDAY), JULY 21, 1854.

I have the honor to send to your Excellency herewith the text of the reply which the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has made, on the 20th of June, to our communication of the 3d of the 3d of June, in which we requested the Russian army on the other side the Danube and the speedy evacuation of the Danubian Principalities, in order that you may submit this answer to the British (French) Cabinet. You will appreciate the impression which this communication has produced upon us when you shall have become acquainted with the despatch in which Count Esterházy had been previously charged, on the 9th of this month, to express to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg our regret that, notwithstanding the facts by which we supported our demand, the Russian Government had not yet declared itself willing to enter into negotiations at the time to be fixed for the evacuation only upon conditions the accomplishment of which did not depend upon our will. Under these circumstances we cannot avoid maintaining our demand in the whole extent of the terms in which it was made in the principal despatch of the 3d of June.

As, moreover, the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has declared that strategic considerations could not permit the Russian army to quit the military positions which it had taken in the Principalities without having previously received from the Russian Government the declaration of the evacuation of the Principalities, upon which the question is shifted to another ground, upon which it was for the belligerent Powers to decide in the first instance.

I need not call the attention of your Excellency to the extraordinary importance of the resolutions which these Powers have taken, and which we have already seen which have invariably guided the policy of the Emperor; our august master, in the present crisis, not to be aware of the spirit in which his Majesty desires to see the belligerent Powers accept the overtures of Russia.

Without aiming to prejudice the resolutions which those Governments may ultimately take, we nevertheless deem it right to explain to you the point of view from which we regard the present phase of the question, in order to put you in a condition to deal frankly towards the Cabinet of London (Paris) if an opportunity is presented. What has been the end aim of the common efforts of the Powers if it has not been the re-establishment of the solid and durable peace? We understand by this peace which, by re-establishing the rights of the Porte, gives to Europe guarantees against the recurrence of perturbations such as those which disturb it so profoundly at the present time. The importance of the interests which are associated with the object is so great that we are convinced that no Power would willingly expose itself to the reproach of having neglected any means whatever likely to bring about a good understanding. Remembering this, the belligerent Powers will no doubt feel it their duty to examine the question calmly and conscientiously, and to see if the reduction of the reply of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg does not contain some germ of conciliation that might lead to the preparation of a definitive pacification.

Russia makes no difficulty in subscribing to the principles which are contained in the protocol of Vienna of the 9th of April in this sense, that she declares herself willing to conserve the integrity of the Porte and to be ready to evacuate the Principalities on the condition of receiving suitable securities; and, lastly, to participate in the consolidation of the rights of the Christians in Turkey by taking part in the European guarantee under which those rights should be placed according to the views of the Cabinet of St. Petersburg; that is to say, comprehending in it not solely Christians of the Greek rite. This triple basis might, according to the idea of the Court of Russia, serve as a starting point for negotiations for peace, which, however, should be preceded by a general suspension of hostilities.

Besides these three points which Russia has declared herself ready to accept, the protocol of the 9th April contains, in reality, a fourth, by which the contracting Governments have engaged themselves to endeavor to obtain in consequence the most suitable guarantees for connecting the existence of the Ottoman Empire with the general equilibrium of Europe. The Cabinet of St. Petersburg not having given any explanations on this subject, we cannot tell what are its intentions in this respect. But it nevertheless appears to us indubitable that the course and unswerving acceptance of these first points would be a great step towards a solution of the question raised by the fourth.

However that may be, if the belligerent Powers feel themselves able to accept the declarations of Russia as the basis of a negotiation by which a durable peace may be attained, we do not doubt that they will be, like us, of opinion that the evacuation of the Principalities must take the first place in chronological order, and as the measure preliminary to any understanding. If this indispensable condition is fulfilled; if Russia gives her assent to the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, and the protection by Europe of the rights of the Christians in Turkey; especially if this protection is completely conformable to the stipulations of the protocol of the 9th of April, she will thereby offer, if I am not deceived, some elements of pacification, the importance of which I hope the belligerent Powers will sufficiently appreciate, and which should have great weight in whatever resolution they may take, for which we wait with much anxiety.

Prussia also gave instructions to her Ambassadors to the Allied Courts, of which the following is said to be a copy.

BRUNN, MONDAY, JUNE 24, 1854.

Whilst the Cabinet of St. Petersburg has declared itself ready as well for the maintenance of peace as for a preliminary armistice, it has in an equally unexceptionable manner hitherto disclaimed that it has required the occupation of the Principalities by the Imperial armies. It considered them but as a military position, and is ready to retire from them to make room for certain military securities which shall be guaranteed. It does not define the means of these securities, but leaves them to the equity of the Cabinets to which it has replied. The King, our august master, for his part, cannot promise his assent to such pacification, because it has been apparently suggested simultaneously by military and political considerations, and, however advanced the hostile parties may be in the way of warlike operations and military preparations, they must both come precisely to this: which of them will proceed to the end, which of them will accept conditions, which of them will define the required guarantees?

We flatter ourselves that our answer to the Cabinet of London will consider with calmness and impartiality the late overture of Russia; that it will remember there are sufficient grounds to conclude on its side upon the points before it; and that it may in this manner assist the real intentions of the several Governments, which are to make their views clear, and to cast out uncertainty as to the points which are the objects of the war.

We hold ourselves the more entitled to entertain this hope because the Russian explanation, in so far as it refers to the protocol of the 9th of April, communicated by the Cabinets of Berlin and Vienna to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, and which latter has since then been the object in view, sets up these definite principles—namely, the integrity of Turkey, the evacuation of the Principalities, and the security of the municipal and religious rights of all the Christian subjects of the Porte. Now, these three principles are the basis of the Russian guarantees which the protocol, by the care of the Powers, recommends in order to bind the Ottoman Empire with the greater firmness to the European system.

The aforesaid remarks will be sufficient, Herr GABRY, to show you the exact point from which the royal Cabinet views the late Russian explanation. We have declared which it would desire to see the Cabinet of London in regard to it. Endeavor, therefore, whilst bringing the present despatch to the knowledge of Lord CLARENDOFF, to make yourself the organ to his Excellency of the high value which we should attach to a reply which should be to us, on this point, the most satisfactory. We have subscribed to ourselves has found a corresponding reception in London, in order that the chances of a just and enduring peace may be thereby increased.

Receive, &c. MANTEUFFEL.

STATE OF AFFAIRS IN SPAIN.

FROM THE LONDON TIMES OF SEPTEMBER 1.

The last accounts from Spain show a considerable improvement in the state of affairs, and an abatement of those symptoms which excited a few days ago our strongest apprehensions for the future. It is stated by the telegraph that on the 28th ultimo Queen Christina left Madrid without encountering any obstacle and proceeded on her way to Lisbon, where she will probably embark for Italy or for France. The Government had already resolved some days before to shut up the clubs in the capital and to put down the juntas in the provinces. Even the electoral "Circle of the Union," which aspired to be the Jacobin Club of the Spanish revolution, had invited the First Minister to resign, and to take over its operations, has been closed; but, although it was positively stated in all the continental journals that ESPARTELO had allowed his name to appear as the President of this anarchical body, our own correspondent distinctly denies this assertion, and affirms that, when the club proposed to elect him, he declined to be one of its patrons or chief officers, that Minister saw the impropriety of such a proceeding and declined the honor. The Government had proceeded to place the state of the public Treasury, which is most deplorable. The plunder of the late Ministers even extended to the extraordinary resources of the Treasury, which were contributions obtained under the forced loan have disappeared, and the revenue of Cuba is anticipated for the next two years and a half. The adventurers who had suspended the Constitution and stifled the press took advantage of